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POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN GREECE

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FOREWORD

This study has been prepared for the OSS by an independent group using material from unrestricted sources only.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN GREECE

I. Introduction

Greece at the census of October 1940 had a population of 7,336,000 as compared to 5,000,000 in 1920 and 6,205,000 in 1928. After its conquest by the Axis powers in April 1941, it was dismembered into 6 distinct parts: (1)

1. Central Macedonia (including Salonika), the Aegean Islands, but not Samos, and Crete with the exception of the easternmost tip, which was given to the Italians; all under direct German military control with the exception of the latter. This area has a population of 2,000,000.

2. The province of Hevros with a regime of its own. Its Greek governor, who is independent of the puppet Greek government of Athens, is under the virtual control of the German governor at Salonika. At the last census in 1928 Hevros had a population of 151,260.

3. Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, the districts of Florina and Kastoria, and the islands of Semothrace and Thasos are under Bulgarian occupation and contain a population of 688,480. According to the Hungarian Telegraphic Agency of July 24, 1942, Bulgarian troops have also occupied the region eastward from the Vardar River, excluding the Salonika area where the Germans were said to be in Command. (2)

4. The Ionian Islands, including Corfu, Leukas, Cephalonia, Zakynthos and others as far as Cythera at the southeastern tip of the Peloponnesus with a population of 231,510 are occupied by Italy.

5. The provinces of Jannina, Thesprotia and Preveza with their population of 300,529 are annexed to the Italian protectorate of Albania.

6. The rest of the Greek Mainland, Thessaly and the Peloponnesus are under the rule of the puppet Greek government of Joannis Rhallys (3) and policed by the Italian militia has a population of 3,456,185.

At the present writing German soldiers are pouring into Greece in view of the expected withdrawal of the Italian troops as a result of the collapse of the Mussolini regime.

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(1) Sources: a) The Statesman's Yearbook
b) The International Yearbook 1942
c) Stephen G. Xydias: The Economy and Finances of Greece under Axis Occupation, Pittsburg, April 1943

(2) The New York Times, July 25, 1943

(3) Since April 7, 1943. His predecessors were Professor Logothetopoulos, (December 2, 1941 till April 7, 1943), and General Tsolakoglou, (April 29, 1941 till December 2, 1941).

The available data on population movements in Greece is vague and for the most part unreliable and contradictory. It indicates the trend of displacement rather than the actual numbers of people displaced.

Greece as a whole, in comparison with neighboring Yugoslavia, suffered a relatively small loss of population through exodus. During the two years following its defeat, no more than 20,000 civilian refugees fled to the nearby countries. Of this number a good many were later accomodated in the Belgian Congo, Kenya, Tanganyka, and Mauritius; others remained in the refugee camps of Egypt, Syria, Turkey, etc. There are indications that small groups of Greek refugees are still escaping to Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus. Recruitment of workers for Germany has netted little result. In all some 6,000 to 10,000 Greek workers have been sent to Germany. For the most part Greek workers have been employed on home soil. The only larger group of deportees was that of the Jews. Some 60,000 to 65,000 were deported from German-occupied Salonika, Bulgarian-held Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia to Poland. About 6,000 Greeks were sent from Western Thrace into Bulgaria proper.

The influx of population into Greece is represented by the 80,000 - 100,000 Bulgarians who were brought to Bulgarian-held Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. They seem little inclined to consider their new homes as permanent.

There is no accurate information as to whether or not any appreciable number of Germans from bombed German areas were sent to Greece. The tens of thousands of Germans wounded on the Russian front who were brought to Greece can not be included in the permanent population picture.

Population movements within the country itself took place mostly from Bulgarian-held Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia, to the province of Hevros, to German-held central and western Macedonia and to continental and southern Greece under the puppet Greek government. Some 70,000 to 80,000 deportees and refugees arrived in these areas. Recent military developments have resulted in the evacuation of an unascertained number of people from the strategically important coastal areas into the interior.

II Movement of Population out of Greece

A. Greek Refugees

The comparatively long Italo-Greek war, (October, 1940 to April, 1941), found the Greeks with the upper hand, and, as a result, the Greek population remained at home. The disastrous short German-Greek war on the other hand provoked a considerable stream of refugees. This stream originated in Macedonia and Thrace, the first territories to be invaded by the German armies. As early as April 9, 1941 a special cable to The New York Times from Istanbul spoke of almost 2,000 Greek refugees from Thrace who had arrived in the Adrianople area. Two days later, the Istanbul correspondent reported that according to a "well-informed diplomatic source," 12,000 Greek soldiers and 20,000 Greek civilians had taken refuge in Turkey. The latter figure is an exaggeration even if it should include the large number of refugees who passed through Turkey, but did not remain there.

At first, refugees and evacuees fled to the Aegean Islands where their situation soon became desperate. On April 10, 1941 a cablegram received by the Greek War Relief Association in New York stated:

"Island of Samothrace short of bread; situation in Lemnos better, but refugees are constantly pouring in." (1)

Later, as the German forces were approaching Athens, "a stream of threatened and frightened human beings," left the capital, "in the utmost hurry....fleeing before the storm." (2)

This exodus continued after the occupation of Greece by the Axis armies. On June 5, a broadcast from Ankara announced that many Greek refugees from the Axis-occupied islands near the Turkish coast were arriving in Turkey, and that the Turkish government was settling them temporarily in Anatolia.(3) In August, a cable from Jerusalem stated that several hundred Greek fliers had escaped to Palestine, and that the Greeks were constantly arriving in Palestine to join fighting forces.(4) On June 11, 1942, King George announced in Washington that thousands of Greek women and children had escaped from the Axis-occupied Greek islands to the Middle East. He placed the number of refugees who had arrived in Turkey, Lebanon and Egypt at about 11,000. (5) According to a special cable to the New York Greek daily, Atlantis in August, 1942, hundreds of Greeks every day risked death in an effort to escape. The cable relates that three small boats which had secretly sailed for Smyrna and Cyprus had encountered reefs and foundered; of the 300 passengers there were only 39 survivors. According to another cable to the same newspaper, Greeks who escaped from occupied Crete and the Greek mainland to Alexandria revealed that daring Greek sailors had organized a secret maritime service, and making use of sailboats, alcohol-burning motor boats and even large row boats daily transported Greeks from the remote coves of the Peloponnesian coast to Egypt and British held Cyprus. (6)

The actual whereabouts of the various groups of Greek refugees can be established only in part. Many Greek refugee camps are situated in the Near East, especially in Egypt, Turkey and Syria. The most important of these are: the transient camp Moses Wells, located opposite the Suez Canal, with a capacity of between 1,000 and 1,500; the Sleppo camp in Smyrna; Souk-el-Gharb in the mountains above Beirut, and camp Tripoli. (7)

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(1) The New York Times, April 11, 1941

(2) The New York Times, April 28, 1941

(3) The New York Times, June 6, 1941

(4) The New York Times, August 4, 1942

(5) The New York Times, June 12, 1942

(6) News from Greece, August 12, 1942

(7) News Letter published by the Greek War Relief Association March 12, 1943

In August 1942, it was reported that hundreds of Greek women and children escaping from Greece to Alexandria were sent by the Egyptian authorities to the British colony of Kenya. The settlement of these orphaned Greek families has been placed under the Kenya colony authorities. (1) In March 1943 there were 480 Greek refugees in Kenya. (2) Dr. Brutsaert, Director of Medical Laboratories at Leopoldville, now on an official medical mission for the Belgian Congo government, at the end of June, informed the Research Bureau on Population Movements that the Congo government had agreed to accomodate about 5,000 Greek refugees in the province of Stanleyville in the northeastern part of the Belgian Congo. Of this number 2,000 had already arrived. The Belgian Ambassador Extraordinary to the United States announced that Greek refugees would be settled in the Ituri province, 750 miles west of the Azanian Sea, and at the northern end of Lake Tanganyika. (3) In November, it was reported that the colonization of the first contingent of 400 refugees in the district of Kibali-Ituri was proceeding according to plan. Temporary reception centers had been arranged at Izrumu, Bunia, Djuga, Mahagi and Luboa. (4) By March 1943, 1825 Greek refugees were reported to have been settled in the Belgian Congo.

A British statement, issued March 4, 1943 revealed that of the 4,830 refugees admitted to Cyprus, nearly all were from Greece. It stated further that 1,000 Greeks had been evacuated to the island of Mauritius. According to the Greek Office of Information, some 12,695 Greek refugees abroad as of March 1943 were distributed as follows:

Turkey	1,450
Syria	1,900
Palestine	310
Cyprus	5,000
Egypt	1,330
Kenya	480
Tanganyka	400
Belgian Congo	1,825
Total	12,695

In addition there are the 1,000 Greeks on Mauritius, and the several thousands scattered over various European and Asiatic countries, and the Americas. Thus the total number of civilian Greek refugees abroad may be estimated at 20,000.

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(1) Special telegram from Alexandria to the Greek daily Atlantis, News from Greece, August 17, 1942

(2) Reply of the Greek Office of Information to a questionnaire of July 15, 1943 of the Research Bureau on Population Movements.

(3) The New York Times

(4) News from Belgium, November 28, 1942

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B. GREEK ARMED FORCES ABROAD

At the end of the Greek campaign, the Germans placed the number of Greek prisoners of war at 8,000 officers and 210,000 men. In Crete the Greeks comprised a large section of the British-Greek garrison of 42,000, only 15,000 of whom had been withdrawn in time. (1) Greek prisoners of war taken by the Germans however, were never transferred abroad, and within a short time on Hitler's order, they were permitted to return to their homes.

The 5,000 Greek prisoners taken by the Italians were interned in Italy or in Italian camps on the islands. According to the Greek Office of Information, a number of these prisoners were still working on the fortifications of Astypalaea, one of the Dodecanese islands, in May, 1942. (2)

There are relatively small Greek armed forces abroad comprising air, sea, and land contingents operating under the Greek Government-in-Exile.

In October 1942, the Greek air force numbered 5,000 men.(3) There were 25 Greek warships manned by 5,300 naval officers and sailors with the British navy in the Mediterranean. (4) The Greek merchant marine operating with the Allies numbers 6,000 to 7,000 seamen. Two Greek brigades joined the British army in Libya and Egypt.(5)

C. Civilian Workers

Before the war, there were very few Greek laborers abroad. Greece's economic situation was satisfactory, and in May 1934, the head of the Greek government was able to state "that only two percent of the occupied population was unemployed." (6) During the period directly following the defeat of Greece the number of Greek workers in Germany was negligible. A table published in the Reichsarbeitsblatt of December 5, 1941, illustrating the number of foreign laborers from eleven countries employed in Germany on September 23, 1941 did not include a listing for Greek workers. (7)

However, the shortage of labor in the Reich necessitated the recruitment of Greek labor for Germany proper and for the Axis-occupied countries (Czechoslovakia, France, etc.). A German campaign to induce the Greeks to "volunteer" for work in Germany was introduced in the autumn of 1941. To this end the growing lack of food in Greece was utilized for all it was worth by the Germans.

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(1) New International Yearbook, 1942

(2) Letter of Greek Office of Information in Washington to Research Bureau on Population Movements, July 15, 1943

(3) Statement made on October 27, 1942 by Nicholas G. Lely, Consul General of Greece in New York. The New York Times, October 28, 1942.

(4) New International Yearbook, 1942

(5) Statement made on September 22, 1942 by Simon P. Diamantopoulos, Greek Ambassador to Washington.
Atlantic Journal, September 22, 1942

(6) The International Labor Office Yearbook, 1939-1940 p.198

(7) Reichsarbeitsblatt No. 34, Part 5, p. 610

The first step was the introduction of compulsory labor within Greece itself. In Salonika and the Aegean Islands which are under direct German control, the German administration, on November 12, 1941, published a decree which provided that all males between 18 and 50 years of age must accept any work whatsoever, regardless of its character, or whether or not it carried remuneration. About two months later, on January 6, 1942, the Commission for the Recruiting of Greek Workers for Foreign Work in Salonika issued a communique which stated that persons interested in work in Germany should apply at the offices of the Commission. According to the Greek Office of Information in Washington only 15 to 20 persons answered this call. (1) In order to put pressure on the reluctant population the German military authorities ordered a civilian draft similar to the one of November 12, 1941, (see page 13), for compulsory labor in Germany. Rumors were spread that persons who waited to be drafted would be sent to the Russian front for auxillary service. On the other hand, it was announced that those who volunteere for work in Germany would be exempt from the labor draft and all its consequences. According to the Greek Office of Information some 3,000 registered for work in Germany, probably as a result of this rumor. The first batch of workers departed from Salonika on March 7, 1943. Of the 850 who were supposed to depart on that day, only 570 left and 60% were women. The fact that more than half were women may be explained by the tremendous difficulties confronting Greek women in their search for work. A second group of 600 workers departed from Salonika on March 15th. (2) At the end of March a branch of the Salonika Commission for the Recruiting of Greek Workers for Foreign Work was opened in Athens to take charge of central and southern Greece. On May 2nd the Deutsches Nachrichten Bureau (DNB) reported that a third batch of 870 workers bound for Germany had also left the city, followed by a fourth on May 6th. There is no precise data available on further transports but a Transocean dispatch of June 2nd announced that an eleventh transport consisting of workers from southern Greece mainly Athens had left Salonika. On August 10th, a special London telegram to the Greek daily, National Herald stated that according to a German announcement there were 8,000 Greek workers in Germany. (3) On September 7th Radio Rome broadcast that the Reich had recruited 26,000 Greek laborers from northern Greece for work in German factories. This broadcast however had little basis in fact, but it is probable that the influx of expelled Greeks and Greek refugees from the neighboring Bulgarian-held-territories of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace did facilitate the recruiting of labor for Germany.

All sorts of inducements were offered the Greeks if they would register for labor in Germany. They were promised high wages and transportation expenses for their families. By the end of 1942 some 10,000 Greeks had signed with the Commission according to the Greek Office of Information. On May 19, 1942 the Donauzeitung announced that a first batch of 550 workers had left Athens for Germany. For the period ending June 26th over 1500 Athens workers had departed for Germany. (4) Radio Paris broadcasting on July 23rd stated

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(1) Reply of Greek Office of Information in Washington to a questionnaire of the International Labor Office.

(2) Ibid

(3) News from Greece, August 22, 1942

(4) Transocean dispatch, June 25, 1942

that five trainloads had already left Athens and that a contingent of Greek workers from Patras would leave for Germany on August 5th.(1) According to German sources there were 4,000 Greeks working in German factories in June. By September 11, 1942 sixteen batches of workers had left Athens for the Reich. At that time, the Germans reported that there were 8,000 Greek workers in Germany. It is not clear whether these 8,000 are identical with the 8,000 referred to in August by a German source (see page 15) in connection with the recruitment of workers from the Salonika area.

On September 26th it was reported that many Greek workers were being employed in the steel mills of occupied France. According to information received by the Research Bureau on Population Movements from the Manpower Section of the Office of Strategic Services, authoritative British sources estimated the number of Greek workers in Germany at 10,000; another source spoke of 5,000 as of March, 1943.

In October 1942, a representative of the German Ministry of Labor came to Athens for the express purpose of recruiting a labor army of 15,000 for work in Germany.(2) His attempt was unsuccessful. The Deutsche Zeitung in Griechenland wrote that Greek workers notified to appear for examination in order that the type of work for which they were best suited might be determined, pretended ignorance of any trade; while others declared outright that they did not want to leave Greece and work for the Axis.(3) In February 1943, a Stockholm dispatch reported that Greek workers were undesirable in Germany, because of their independent spirit; and that they disseminated news among the German workers which fostered discouragement and defeatism. They were therefore being sent back to Greece.(4) A BBC broadcast of January 18, 1943 reported that a number of Greeks had been recalled to work on the coastal defenses in Greece. In view of the above it is interesting to note that according to the Croat press, recruiting of Greek labor was suspended until March 31, 1943.(5) On March 30th a telegram from London to the Greek National Herald reported that according to the latest information from Greece, the Germans had abandoned the idea of a large scale mobilization of the Greek workers.(6) However, the National Socialist Presse Dienst of May 10th insisted that the Greeks "can muster 500,000 workers for Germany." There are no indications that Greek workers were sent to Italy or Italian held territories.(7)

D. Children

1. Projected Evacuation by the International Red Cross.

During the early months of 1942, there were press reports that the International Red Cross had arranged for the removal of 9,000 children from Greece. 1,000 were to be brought to Turkey where the Red Crescent had promised to care for them until after the war. Another 5,000 were to be sent to

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(1) Radio Paris, July 23, 1942
(2) Reply to the Greek Information Center to the International Labor Office.
(3) News from Greece, October 21, 1942
(4) Special telegram to Greek daily Atlantis quoted in News from Greece, March 4, 1943
(5) The New York Times, February 19, and April 14, 1942
(6) News from Greece, April 6, 1943
(7) Answer of the Greek Office of Information to a questionnaire of the Research Bureau on Population Movements.

Switzerland, and 3,000 were to find haven in Egypt and Palestine. (1)

In answer to an inquiry of the Research Bureau on Population Movements, Dr. Young of the Greek War Relief in New York stated that these proposed evacuations of Greek children never took place. According to Dr. Young the International Red Cross had received the necessary permission for the transfers from the Axis authorities, but that the campaign in Egypt had rendered the plan impracticable at that time.

Finally, on January 6th, 1943, the Swiss Legation in Rome transmitted a formal request from the British government to the Italian government for the safe conduct to Egypt of the first contingent of 2000 Greek children. In reply, the Fascist government on January 28th, stated that in view of the fact that the food situation in Greece was greatly improved, and that thanks to the measures taken by the Mission of the Swiss Red Cross, more than 800,000 children in Athens alone were receiving special relief, Greek circles were no longer in favor of the transfer of Greek children to Egypt.(2)

2. Removal to Germany

According to Greek sources in June 1942, the German radio announced that the puppet Greek Ministries of Agriculture, Labor, and Education would cooperate to send many thousands of Greek children whose parents had become dependent on public support as well as several hundred thousand Greek orphans between the ages of 12 and 16 to Germany and German-occupied countries to work in the fields at harvest time, and in the war plants throughout the Reich. (3) There is no available information as to whether or not this measure was carried out.

E. Deportation of Jews

As early as February 1942 the German controlled Athens radio announced that a mass deportation of Jews to Polish ghettos was to begin shortly. (4) However, this plan was not carried out until a year later. The centers of deportation were German held Salonika and the Bulgarian-held area, which contained the vast majority of the 72,000 Jews of Greece.

1. From German-held Salonika

According to the census of 1928 there were 35,984 Jews in Salonika. The German International Press Agency on January 5, 1943 placed their number at 70,000. This figure may be explained by the fact that the German authorities originally intended to establish a huge ghetto in Salonika, and at first deported many Jews to the city.

In the beginning of July 1942 Salonika Jews were conscripted for forced labor on Greek territory. Almost simultaneously, on July 22, the Muenchner Neueste Nachrichten declared that "the Greek press demands the

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(1) The New York Times, February 19 and April 14, 1942.

(2) Stefani Agency, July 2, 1943

(3) News from Greece, June 26, 1943

(4) Rekord, February 27, 1942

deportation of Jews from Salonika." Actual deportations commenced early in the spring of 1943. According to a statement issued in June 1943 by the Greek Government-in-Exile, the first group of 3,500 Salonika Jews were deported to Poland in the beginning of March.(1) On April 11th their arrival at a concentration camp in Lwow, where they remained for three days before being shipped to an unknown destination, was reported by Polish official circles in London on the basis of underground information.(2) Several days later, Greek circles in London revealed that 45,000 Jews had already been deported from Salonika. On May 26th, the Istanbul correspondent of the London Times wrote that 50,000 Salonika Jews had been deported and that only some 5,000 who held either Turkish or Spanish passports had remained in the city. He added that these 50,000 deportees were last heard from on their arrival in Cracow, subsequently all traces of them disappeared.

On June 22, 1943 the Donauzeitung, Belgrade announced that a new department for the administration of abandoned and seized Jewish property had been set up by the German authorities within the offices of the Governor General of Macedonia. Jewish dwellings were confiscated by the Governor to be used as lodgings for refugees, war victims, state employees, etc.

2. From Bulgarian-Held Area

The Bulgarian government has carried out wholesale deportation of the 2,979, (census of 1928) Jews of Western Thrace and 13,000 of Eastern Macedonia. The first train of Jewish deportees left Thrace for Poland in March 1943. (3) Additional trains followed, and by the end of May some 14,000 Jews from Thrace and Macedonia had already been deported to Poland where they were delivered up to the German authorities.(4)

In order to escape the imminent deportations, Jews attempted to flee to Italian-held Albania, Turkey and to other parts of Greece. In January 1943, the Bulgarian police discovered an "underground railway" at the Aegean port of Cavalla from where Jews were illegally transported to Greece proper.(5) In May, a secret organization was uncovered in the Macedonian town of Scoplje with headquarters in Sofia. This organization had been delivering identification cards and passports which would enable Jews to cross the Turkish or the Bulgarian-Albanian border.(6)

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(1) Jewish Telegraphic Agency, June 10, 1943
(2) Ibid April 1, 1943
(3) Donauzeitung, March 24, 1943
(4) Social Demokraten, Stockholm, May 25, 1943
(5) Voelkischer Beobachter, February 1, 1943
(6) Ibid May 3, 1943, Grenzbota, Bratislava, May 13, 1943

F. Deportation of Greeks from Bulgarian-Occupied Greek Provinces to Bulgaria Proper.

In November 1941 it was revealed that 6,000 Greeks had been deported from Bulgarian-held Western Thrace into Bulgaria proper. Of this number, some 3,000 were either engaged in forced labor near Plovdiv, or were shipped to concentration camps on the island of Samothrace.(1)

II. Movement of Population into Greece

A. Colonization of Bulgarians in Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia.

1. Historical Background

After World War I, the Convention of Neuilly between Bulgaria and Greece (November 27, 1919) provided for a voluntary exchange of population between the two countries. Under the terms of the Convention, 92,000 Bulgarians left Greece. Of this number, some 39,000 left Western Thrace and Macedonia prior to the coming into effect of the Convention (1923) and 53,000 left afterwards, thus leaving some 82,000 Bulgarians in Greece. The majority of those who remained were concentrated in the northern part of western and central Macedonia, far from the Greco-Bulgarian border. In 1932 Stephen P. Ladas in his book on the exchange of minorities, stated that there were no Bulgarians left in Western Thrace. (2) In 1941 when German troops entered Greece, even Axis sources admitted that Western Thrace and Macedonia "remained virtually without Bulgarian inhabitants." (3)

2. Colonization under the Guise of Repatriation

The Bulgarian government soon announced its intention to re-Bulgarise these "redeemed" provinces. On October 10, 1941 a Bulgarian decree was issued which provided for the colonization of the area between the Struma and Mesta Rivers. The Bulgarian newspaper Zora on November 23, 1941 reported that the Ministry of Interior was issuing application forms to be filled out and returned by December 15, 1941 by all persons desiring to settle in the new provinces. Three days later Bulgarian Premier Bogdan Filov declared that thousands of Bulgarian families would be settled in Macedonia and Western Thrace in accordance with a carefully worked out plan.(4)

In January 1942 the German-controlled Radio Paris announced that Greece and Bulgaria were carrying out a population exchange. (5) However what was actually taking place in the occupied Greek territories was the eviction of the Greek element and its replacement by Bulgarian settlers. Only part of

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(1) The New York Times, November 13, 1941, and January 6, 1942
(2) Stephen P. Ladas, The Exchange of Minorities - Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.
(3) Donauzeitung, Belgrade, November 25, 1942
(4) Donauzeitung, (Belgrade) November 25, 1942
(5) News from Greece, January 31, 1941

these settlers were the same Bulgarians who had left in 1923 - 1932. By July 1, 1943, Premier Filov was able to inform the press that "the greater part of the 150,000 Bulgarians in Thrace, who had evacuated their country at the end of the war of 1914-1918 have returned to their original home." (1) However, 150,000 is an arbitrary figure and greatly surpasses the number of Bulgarians who left Thrace after 1919 as given by the Greco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission in charge of this emigration. There is no doubt however that under the slogan of "repatriation" thousands of Bulgarians who had nothing in common with Thrace were moved into this area.

3. Number of Colonists

In June 1942, Pester Lloyd stated that 50,000 Bulgarians had already "returned" to Thrace and Macedonia and that over 100,000 families had registered for resettlement. (2) In November of the same year, the German Donauzeitung of Belgrade reported that during the first 19 months of Bulgarian occupation 100,000 Bulgarians were resettled in Thrace, mainly in the area between the Struma and the Mesta Rivers.(3) Further colonization however did not continue at the initial rapid pace. The Neues Wiener Tageblatt of March 23, 1943 announced that 300 Bulgarian families were settled in Western Thrace during the first three weeks in March. Simultaneously an Istanbul cable to the London Daily Telegraph reported that 800 more Bulgarian families had recently been installed in the Greek towns of Cavalla, Tsagetsi and Alexandropoulis.(4) In all, some 80,000 to 100,000 Bulgarians were resettled in the occupied Greek provinces.

4. Unstable Character of Settlement

a. Reaction of Peasants

It seems that the Bulgarian government encountered serious difficulties in persuading Bulgarian peasants to settle in the occupied Greek provinces. According to the London Sunday Times Bulgarians were officially urged to settle in the Greek provinces, particularly in Western Thrace. But, despite the promise of subsidies and favors, many peasants preferred to remain in Bulgaria rather than brave the uncertainty of life in the mountain settlements of Greece, where the absence of Bulgarian military protection left them open to attack by Greek guerrillas. (5)

In order to bolster the moral of those already settled, Bulgarian officials were constantly forced to visit Western Thrace, and other sections under their control, to hold patriotic speeches and stage parades. Despite this, it was reported that few Bulgarian peasants considered their new residences as permanent. (6) On June 13, 1942, News from Greece heard through a reliable Constantinople source that the majority of the Bulgarian immigrants were returning to Bulgaria, partly because of the activities of Greek guerrillas

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(1) According to a broadcast from Lyon, July 1, 1943
(2) Pester Lloyd, June 21, 1942
(3) Donauzeitung, November 25, 1942
(4) News from Greece, April 18, 1943
(5) News from Greece, April 28, 1942
(6) Cable received by the Greek Government in Exile, News from Greece, May 1, 1942

and partly because of the threat of an Allied invasion from the Aegean.(1) Although this information is greatly exaggerated, it does contain certain elements of truth.

b. Reaction of Other Settlers

There are indications that not all of the 80,000 to 100,000 Bulgarians sent to the occupied Greek provinces were peasants. Among them were many officials and their families from old Bulgaria. Bulgarian officialdom is comparatively large (some 130,000 and including their families 650,000) and underpaid. The Government was neither in a position to increase their salaries nor to discharge a considerable number of them. It therefore found a way out, by sending officials from Bulgaria proper to the occupied Greek territories. The officials who remained behind were given a 10% increase to compensate for any additional work and two birds were killed with one stone.(2) However, many of those transferred, especially the teachers were dissatisfied with their new surroundings and were anxious to return home. The Bulgarian newspaper Zora on March 20, 1943 published an order of the Ministry of Trade and Industry which announced that by May 15, district school authorities must have prepared lists of all teachers who were to be transferred from the "liberated" lands back to their permanent posts. These lists were also to include requests of teachers who had arrived during the current term and although they were not entitled to do so, desired to return home because of illness or other reasons. The teachers were expressly forbidden to address their requests directly to the Ministry of Trade and Industry. This would indicate that the anxiety to get their applications in was so great that rather than apply through the regular channels many had directly approached the Ministry.

B. Germans in Greece

There have been numerous newspaper reports of an influx of refugees from areas bombed by the RAF. In June 1942, the Lisbon correspondent of the London Times reported that thousands of Greeks had been expelled from Athens, the suburbs of Tatoi and Kiftissia, to make room for German families from bombed areas. The places where these Germans were installed were designated as "German colonies." (3) According to The New York Times of October 6, 1942, 10,000 German refugees from the Rhineland area bombed by the RAF were expected in Athens. In answer to an inquiry of the Research Bureau on Population Movements, dated July 15, The Greek Office of Information stated that it "doubted if any refugees from bombed areas have been sent to Greece." However, there are

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(1) Ibid, June 28, 1942
(2) Sued-Ost Economist, July 18, 1941 and July 31, 1942
(3) News from Greece, June 9, 1942

certainly socalled German colonies in Athens which are continously expanding through the influx of German industrialists and officials. The Chemische Industrie of February 1943 reported that a company entitled Deutsch-Griechische Waren Ausgleich GmbH had recently been founded with offices in Athens and Berlin. And the Deutsche Nachrichten in Griechenland announced on March 7, 1943 that the monthly meeting of the Auslandsdeutsche Frauenschaft would be held on Monday, March 8.

In July 1942, the Soviet Office of Information disclosed that thousands of Greeks from Kalamata, Patras, Piraeus, Athens and Salonika were being expatriated to make room for German wounded shipped to Greece from the Russian front. (1) The following month, London reported the continuous arrival in Greece from the Russian front of large air-plane transports carrying German wounded. All hospitals were commandeered for the care of German casualties.(2) In January 1943 the number of German wounded from the Eastern front in Athens was estimated at 72,000.(3)

III. Movement of Population from one Part of Greece to Another

A. From Bulgarian-held Area

The organized Bulgarian mass colonization of Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia (see Topic II, p 25) was directly connected with the mass eviction and deportation of Greeks from these provinces. The Bulgarian authorities have used every method from subtle pressure to outright terror in order to dispossess and drive out the Greeks. The Ankara correspondent of the London Times revealed in October 1942 that food cards were given only to those inhabitants of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace who could either prove their Bulgarian nationality in writing, or were willing to sign a declaration that they were Bulgarians.(4) In April 1943, the Bulgarian occupation authorities issued an order according to which all Greeks who did not declare themselves Bulgarians by the following November were to evacute the Bulgarian-occupied Greek provinces. (5)

In the London Times of March 22, 1942 the Istanbul correspondent described how well to do Greeks were deprived of their properties. The Bulgarian authorities informed them that the Bulgarian government had decided to buy their estates for a fixed price to be paid in banknotes. After the transaction took place, they were told that they must leave the occupied area. Gendarmes accompanied them to the border where Bulgarian custom officials informed them that they could not take from Bulgarian territory a sum exceeding 200 drachmas ($6.60 at the pre-war rate.) Thus with the exception of this paltry sum all their money was confiscated. (6) The Greek Office of Research and Information stated that dispossessed Greeks were paid only 35% of the value of their

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(1) News from Greece, June 9, 1942
(2) Special telegram to the Greek daily Atlantis reprinted in News from Greece of August 5, 1942
(3) The New York Times, January 27, 1943
(4) News from Greece, November 20, 1942
(5) Ibid April 15, 1943
(6) Greece Ground Down. London Times, May 22, 1942

seized lands and homes.(1) Greek-owned industrial and commercial establishments were also confiscated and the proprietors and workers exiled. In March 1942, dispatches from Ankara related that 1,761 Greek enterprises including textiles and shipbuilding firms, had been seized. Most of these were located in the towns of Komotine, Drama, and Thessaloniki. (2)

Since December 1941, the Bulgarian authorities have introduced a system of work permits. The granting of such permits is said to depend on political considerations. Out of 6,800 shopkeepers, small merchants, small businessmen, etc. who applied for such licenses, only 4,300 received them, and of 5,530 artisans only 4,300 were successful in their petitions. (3) These and similar proceedings had broader repercussions.

On June 21, 1942 the Pester Lloyd reported that 71,000 Greeks had already left the Bulgarian-occupied Greek provinces. On November 27, the Neus Zuercher Zeitung spoke of 80,000 Greeks who had been expelled. On January 4, 1943 an article in the London Daily Herald stated that 100,000 Greeks had been evicted from Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace. Many important towns of this area were depopulated. According to a comprehensive document released in January 1942 by the press department of the Greek Legation in Kuibyshev, three quarters of the 40,000 inhabitants of Xanthi had fled and two thirds of the population of Alexandrcupolis (12,000 in 1928) had abandoned their homes. In Sidirokastro only 1,000 remained. (4)

As stated (p.23) Greeks were originally deported to inner Bulgaria. Later however, continental and southern Greece, German-occupied central and western Macedonia and the province of Hevros became the destinations for deported and fleeing Greeks.

On February 20, 1942 the Royal Greek Government announced that 70,000 Greeks forcibly evicted from their homes were migrating to other parts of the Greek peninsula seeking food and shelter.(5) A special telegram in March 1942 to the Greek daily, National Herald related that the evicted Greeks were swelling the number of vagrants in Athens and other large Greek cities. (6) In July 1943, 8,000 destitute Greeks were reported to have arrived in the province of Hevros from Alexandroupolis. (7)

B. Forcible Evacuation from Strategically Important Areas

By the end of January 1943, Doxa (Glory), the Greek underground newspaper revealed that many coastal villages in the Chalkidiki had been evacuated by order of the Axis authorities who were hastily fortifying all the strategic points of the peninsula. In February an Istanbul cable in London Times reported that by order of the military governor of Athens, all inhabitants of coastal areas in

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(1) News from Greece, April 17, 1942
(2) Special telegram to Greek daily National Herald reproduced in News from Greece, March 3, 1942
(3) Stephen G. Xydias, The Economy and Finances of Greece under Axis-occupation, (Pittsburgh, 1943).
(4) The New York Times, January 6, 1942
(5) News from Greece, February 26, 1942
(6) News from Greece, March 5, 1942
(7) The New York Times, July 6, 1943

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Attica had been transferred to the innermost parts of Boeotia. (1) At the same time, the entire population of some 65 villages and settlements along the length of the Athens-Salonika railroad was evacuated,(2) presumably to facilitate the task of the German army which was guarding the railway and the bridge along the line. On February 14th, Turkish reports stated that the German authorities had ordered all civilians in Salonika and along the coast of Thrace to leave within 20 days. (3)

In March, News Letter, published by the Greek War Relief Association reported that the German military command had ordered the evacuation of the villages of St. Marina, Rafina, Nea Makre and Marathon in Athica, against a possible Allied invasion.(4)

C. Evacuation from the Cities.

In August 1941, the occupation authorities, in conjunction with the puppet Greek government, issued an order according to which all the inhabitants of Athens who had come to the capital after January 1940 (with the exception of state officials) were to leave Athens immediately. (5) The number of persons affected was estimated at 50,000. How many actually left is not known.

In February 1943, the Greek daily, Atlantis carried a report that steps were being taken to evacuate some 400,000 children from the cities in order to relieve the food shortage. The children were to be settled in rural areas where they could perform agricultural work. (6) There is no available data as to the results of this undertaking.

The Greek Office of Information attached little significance to the removal of the urban population to rural areas in as much as it is simpler for the Axis authorities to police the masses of population concentrated in cities.(7) Nor are there any indications of a spontaneous exodus of the urban population to rural areas although in view of the disasterous food conditions this might have been expected. There has been no noticeable migration to the countryside even from Athens where the mortality rate due to famine has been very high. This is in direct contradiction to the natural reaction of people during periods of famine, the world over. The fact that the Greek civilian population is practically excluded from traveling by rail (8) is not a sufficient obstacle to the migration of people fleeing from hunger and death. Nor can an explanation be found in the food poverty of the Greek countryside as the criterion is always relative and in particular as Attica the province in which Athens is situated is comparatively rich in agricultural products.

The answer for this lack of migratory movement from the cities of Greece and especially from its capital can probably be found in the Allied food shipments which went mainly to Athens and other important Greek cities. The Russian famine of 1922 presents a parallel to this phenomenon. Then too, the starving population streamed to the cities where ARA had established its food and medicine distribution centers.

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(1) News from Greece, February 10, 1943
(2) News from Greece, February 25, 1943
(3) The Bulletin of International News, February 20, 1943
(4) News Letter, March 12, 1943
(5) Frankfurter Zeitung, August 19, 1941
(6) News from Greece, March 3, 1943
(7) Letter of the Greek Office of Information to the Research Bureau on Population Movements
(8) Greek Section of the Research and Analysis of the Office of Strategic Services